

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USMISSION NATO
USNMR SHAPE
CINCEUR
CINCUSAFE
CINCUSNAVEUR
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CINCUSAREUR
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C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 0042

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, SP, MARR, NATO
SUBJECT: THE EVOLVING DEFENSE VIEWS OF THE SPANISH SOCIALISTS (PSOE)

SUMMARY: THE PSOE RUDIMENTARY DEFENSE PLANK CALLS FOR AN
"INDEPENDENT" EUROPEAN DEFENSE AND OPPOSES SPANISH NATO
MEMBERSHIP BUT THEIR PRIVATE THINKING IS SOMEWHAT MORE FLEXI-
BLE AND THEIR POSTURE MAY EVOLVE FROM THEIR EXPOSURE TO
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EUROPEAN THINKING. END SUMMARY.

1. WE PROVIDE BELOW A CAPSULE SUMMARY OF RECENTLY EX-
PRESSED PSOE VIEWS ON SPAIN'S DEFENSE AFFAIRS, BASED ON
PARTY LEADERS' STATEMENTS AT THE NOVEMBER 5-6 SOCIALIST
MEETING IN AMSTERDAM (THE HAGUE 6318); PRESS INTERVIEWS
SINCE THEIR RETURN; AN EXTENDED PRIVATE CONVERSATION

BETWEEN EMBOFFS AND PSOE SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS LUIS YANEZ AND PARTY DEFENSE "EXPERT" LUIS SOLANA; AND RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED PSOE CONGRESS (MADRID 9341):

2. OPPOSITION TO NATO MEMBERSHIP. THE PSOE OPPOSES SPANISH ACCESSION TO THE ALLIANCE, JUSTIFYING THIS POSITION BY CLAIMING THAT IT WOULD DESTABILIZE THE EXISTING INTERNATIONAL EQUILIBRIUM, POSSIBLY OBLIGING MOSCOW TO ATTEMPT TO REDRESS THE BALANCE BY BRINGING YUGOSLAVIA INTO THE WARSAW PACT. MORE TO THE POINT, HOWEVER, ARE PARTY LEADERS' RESENTMENT OVER WHAT THEY VIEW AS LONGSTANDING US SUPPORT FOR THE FRANCO REGIME AND STRONG ANTI-ALLIANCE SENTIMENT IN SECTORS OF THE PARTY BASE. YANEZ ALSO HAS STATED HIS BELIEF THAT NATO MEMBERSHIP WOULD MORTGAGE SPANISH SOVEREIGNTY AND REFERRED TO WHAT HE ALLEGED IS PORTUGUESE AND GREEK DISCOMFORT WITH THEIR NATO TIE AND INABILITY TO EXTRICATE THEMSELVES FROM IT. THE PARTY ALSO AGREES, HOWEVER, THAT THE DECISION ON NATO MEMBERSHIP IS ONE WHICH MUST BE TAKEN BY A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVT, AND PARTY LEADERS DO NOT EXPECT THAT THE POSE WILL BE REPRESENTED IN THAT FIRST GOVT. THEY ALSO HAVE TENDED TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE PRIVATELY, INDICATING THAT NATO MEMBERSHIP MIGHT BE A GOOD THING FOR SPAIN UNDER SOME UNSPECIFIED CIRCUMSTANCES, THAN THEY HAVE BEEN IN PUBLIC.

3. PREFERENCES FOR A "THIRD WAY." THE PSOE HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT, IF IT HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE US AND THE USSR, IT WOULD OPT FOR PROTECTION UNDER THE US "UMBRELLA." HOWEVER, THE PARTY VIEWS A THIRD ALTERNATIVE -- THE CREATION OF AN

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"INDEPENDENT" SOCIALIST-MANAGED EUROPEAN DEFENSE SYSTEM, POSSIBLY TO INCLUDE SHARED NUCLEAR WEAPONS -- AS A POTENTIALLY VIABLE, AND PREFERABLE, ANSWER TO NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT. SOLANA, WHO SEES SUCH AN "INDEPENDENT" POSITION GIVING SPAIN MORE CLOUT IN THE "SEARCH FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY," ALSO VIEWS IT AS "NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH US DEFENSE INTERESTS." HE EMPHASIZES THAT THE PSOE DOES NOT SHARE THE "THIRD WORLD-NEUTRALIST" ORIENTATION OF SOME OTHER SPANISH SOCIALIST GROUPS. INTERESTINGLY, SOLANA AND YANEZ INSISTED THAT, AT THE AMSTERDAM MEETING, THEY HAD FOUND OTHER EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS, PARTICULARLY THE FRENCH AND EVEN THE GERMANS, TO BE NOT ONLY SYMPATHETIC TO BUT SUPPORTIVE OF THE PSOE'S POSITION ON A "THIRD WAY" AND NATO. (WE ASSUME THAT THIS "SUPPORT" WAS MUCH MORE IN THE NATURE OF ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE PSOE LEADERS' YOUTHFUL ENTHUSIASM.)

4. INVALIDITY OF FRANCO REGIME AGREEMENTS. THE PSOE CONSIDERS ANY MILITARY AGREEMENT REACHED BY THE FRANCO REGIME, INCLUDING THE CONTINUING BASES ACCORDS WITH THE US, TO BE ILLEGITIMATE BECAUSE THEY WERE ENTERED INTO BY NON-DEMOCRATIC GOVTS. THE

PSOE OPPOSES THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGN BASES IN PRINCIPLE,
AND SEES THE ISSUE OF THE US PRESENCE AS ONE WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE
RECONSIDERED BY A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVT.

5. CITIZEN SOLDIERS AND MORE. THE PSOE CALLS FOR A RAISING
OF THE POPULAR CONSCIOUSNESS ON DEFENSE AFFAIRS AND FOR IN-
CREASED NATIONAL EMPHASIS ON DEFENSE, POINTING OUT THAT THE
DEFENSE BUDGET UNDER FRANCO WAS ONE OF THE LOWEST IN EUROPE
IN TERMS OF EXPENDITURES AS A PERCENTAGE OF GNP. SOLANA GOES
ON TO ADVOCATE AN EXTREMELY VAGUELY DEFINED "POPULARIZATION"
OF THE ARMED FORCES, POINTING SPECIFICALLY TO SWEDISH, SIWSS,
AND YUGOSLAV MODELS OF MILITARY MOBILIZATION OF THE CITI-
ZENRY.

6. EMBOFFS, DURING THEIR PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH YANEZ
AND SOLANA, MADE THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPAL POINTS IN
RESPONSE TO THEIR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS:
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--THE US CONTINUES TO SUPPORT NATO MEMBERSHIP FOR
SPAIN AS IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES AND THE ALLIANCE,
ALTHOUGH WE AGREE THAT THIS IS A DECISION THAT MUST BE
MADE BY A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVT. SPAIN CAN PLAY A MUCH MORE
IMPORTANT AND EFFECTIVE ROLE WITHIN THE ALLIANCE THAN OUTSIDE
IT.

--SPANISH ACCESSION TO NATO IS UNLIKELY TO AFFECT SOVIET
DESIGNS ON YUGOSLAVIA, WHATEVER THEY MAY BE. ON THE CONTRARY,
THE FAILURE OF SPAIN TO FORMALIZE WHAT MOSCOW IS CERTAIN
TO VIEW AS CURRENT DE FACTO SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IS LIKELY
TO BE VIEWED IN THE KREMLIN AS A SIGN OF WEAKNESS, POTENTIALLY
MUCH MORE DESTABILIZING THAN THE IMPACT OF SPANISH MEMBERSHIP.
--NOT ONLY WOULD NATO MEMBERSHIP NOT MORTGAGE SPANISH SOVEREIGNTY,
IT ALSO WOULD GIVE MADRID AN IMPORTANT VOICE IN
NATO COUNCILS. IT ALSO WOULD PROVIDE THE ARMED FORCES WITH
A POSSIBLY NEEDED FOCUS OF REORIENTATION FROM CONCERNS WITH
INTERNAL SECURITY, AN ELEMENT WHICH WE BELIEVE HAS BEEN IMPORTANT
TO MARIO SOARES. WE SERIOUSLY QUESTION THE ASSERTION THAT
THE GREEKS AND PARTICULARLY THE PORTUGUESE WANT OUT.
--FINALLY, WE STRONGLY DISAGREE THAT NATO COUNTRY SOCIALIST
LEADERS, CERTAINLY GERMAN SOCIALISTS WHO, WE UNDERSTAND,
HAVE RAISED THIS ISSUE WITH THE PSOE LEADERSHIP, SEE THE PSOE'S
IDEA OF A "THIRD WAY" TO BE VIABLE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE,
NORWITHSTANDING WHAT INDIVIDUAL REPRESENTATIVES AT AMSTERDAM
MAY HAVE SAID. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE GERMAN AND EVEN
THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS, AMONG OTHERS, SEE SPANISH MEMBERSHIP
IN NATO AS IMPORTANT TO SPAIN FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY.

7. COMMENT: THE PSOE IS ONLY NOW BEGINNING TO FOCUS
SERIOUSLY ON DEFENSE-RELATED MATTERS. PARTY LEADERS
TEND TO APPROACH THESE QUESTIONS IN A RELATIVELY UN-

SOPHISTICATED MANNER, REFLECTING THEIR LACK OF DIRECT
PRATCTICAL EXPERIENCE WITH EUROPEAN SECURITY PROBLEMS.
WE PLAN TO CONTINUE TO DISCUSS DEFENSE ISSUES WITH THE
LEADERSHIP IN ORDER TO CONTRIBUTE TO WHAT WE HOPE WILL
BE A POSITIVE EVOLUTION OF ITS POSITION. THIS IS LIKE-
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LY TO COUNT FOR LITTLE, HOWEVER, IF THE PSOE IS INDEED
RECEIVING CONFLICTING ADIVCE FROM SOME OF ITS WESTERN EUROPEAN
SOCIALIST INTERLOCUTORS. STABLER

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